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Rowen

Sept. 6 study

6 Sept. 15A Rowen (+ DIA?) for Phil

"Advantages + disadvantages of making a statement that the US would not tolerate establishment of military forces (missile or air or both) which might launch a nuclear attack from Cuba against the US?"

1. It should first be noted that the character of Sov mil. aid to Cuba this far does not indicate the building of Cuban mil. cap. designed for attack on the US. so far as known at present, seems primarily aimed at improving defense — particularly air defense — capabilities. Main line of propaganda focuses on Cuba's right to defend itself against "Aggression" w.r.t. nuc weapons, it would mark a very significant ~~departure~~ change in Sov policy to date if nuc weapons were to be turned over to the Cubans, or even deployed to Cuba under Sov custody.

2. At the same time, it cannot be ruled out that Sov policy may shift, and that the creation of a nuc threat on the US "doorstep" might appeal to the Soviets as an appropriate counter to US deployment of an alleged nuc threat close to the Blue Embassy.

4. Advantages -

A strong US statement warning against the estab. of
muc- capable forces in Cuba would send clear notice
to the Soviets that we are nearing the limits of patience
on their military intervention in the Western Hemisphere. To the
extent that the Soviets are probing to see how far they can go,
a firm commitment of US prestige to stopping the
build-up of a nuc mil. threat in Cuba could cause the Soviets
to weigh the risks of provoking us into action in a part of
the world where we hold all the geographic advantages.

5. A U.S. declaration would pave the way for taking
firmer sanctions. If the Soviets continued to support a Cuban
buildup, we could take the position that this action
threatened the security of the US and of the Hemisphere, and
that we therefore considered ourselves justified in taking
necessary measures to cut off the flow of arms, such as
interception and turning back of Bloc shipping...

Needless to say, if we intend to make declaratory statements at all, we will have to be prepared to back them with some sort of action or take a damaging prestige setback.

C. In many parts of world the US image would be improved by statements and action showing determination of purpose and a clear concept of vital national interest......

D. A warning statement keyed to the nuclear threat would have the advantage also in some quarters of underscoring US tolerance & patience, even to the point of permitting a Comm state on the very doorstep of the US until the unacceptable condition of a more threat from that state came into the picture.

5. Disadvantages. If it is accepted [?] that the unequivocal existence of carbon-based nuc weapons would be unacceptable from the standpoint of US security [?] — and that we would therefore take action to neutralize the threat — then consideration

of disadvantages from a declaration warning hinges mainly on the effects from a warning made in advance of the clear establishment of a new threat.

B. An advance warning confrimed to the new threat would - cast US policy in a rigid mold. It could be inferred that the US intended to do nothing unless Cuba actually established a new cap, which would tend to increase Castro's freedom of action in other matters & lower the morale of Cuban resistance elements. Unless accompanied by supporting indications of US firmness and unanimity, an advance declaration would probably have a questionable deterrent effect on Sov efforts to enlarge a military foothold in Cuba.

C. An advance declaration would give Sovs legislative propaganda leverage to argue that in view of US-controlled new bases ringing the Bloc, the US was in no moral or political position to proscribe the establishment of a modest new counter force on the periphery of N.A. Thus, a statement might ^{very} well have a reverse effect and

help provide the justification for establishment of a
nuc cap in Cuba.

[SU didn't try this. Point is: To object to
(+ description, etc.)
fact of Sov missiles, in anger & pain is more acceptable
than to claim right, in tranquillity, to keep them out]

["Why is US raising issue — except to assert superiority?"]

d. ... US would be vulnerable to large-scale prod. counter
from Comm that Sov aid to Cuba was only for purposes
of defense against Amer. aggression & interference...

e. Conclusions. 2) Disadvantages of an advance declaration
concerned with a nuclear threat only would appear to
outweigh the advantages.

d. A declaration made after the existence of nuc forces
had been determined would be useful to the extent that
it was followed up by action to eliminate the threat.

[planning?]

c. Making introduction of a nuc cap the criterion for US action
has the inherent disadvantage that it allows time for ~~the~~

further strengthening of Cuban armed forces, AD, possibly sub
bases, so that any eventual mil. ops. that might prove
necessary against Cuba would become more difficult & costly,

8. Final conclusion is that any declaratory warning issued by
US should not be confined only to the nuclear aspect of
a Cuban military buildup, and should not be made at all
unless the US is prepared to take action to thwart the
buildup.